

PEACE NEWS

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The Archbishop's 'Yes' to the Bomb

By STUART MORRIS

THE Archbishop of York has come out in support of the decision to develop the H-bomb.

He believes in Peace by Deterrents because "the Communists will continue their chosen path regardless of remonstrances and reckless of human life."

But as they also possess the H-bomb, why should they be deterred by it? Has the Archbishop forgotten that it was not the Soviet Union who used the A-bomb or first developed the H-bomb?

The Archbishop hates these weapons of mass-destruction so much that he could say "I wish to God they had never been made" and that "the destruction of the world by their use would be to defeat the purpose for which God made it" (this incidentally, was the only direct reference to God or Christ in his House of Lords speech on the H-bomb). Yet he supports the decision to make it.

He believes that international inspection and control of atomic weapons are no longer possible, and argues that, therefore, it is more important than ever that there should be some protection against the use of the H-bomb.

But there is no protection against the effects of its use and the only "defence" lies in ensuring that it is never used.

CHALLENGE

The real challenge to conscience is not that we should demand protection from the use of H-bombs against us but that we should demand that we shall never have the responsibility of using them on others.

The Archbishop dismisses that challenge by the amazing argument that the decision does not rest with the British Government alone, and the assertion that if from every pulpit sermons against the manufacture of the H-bomb were preached for the rest of the year it would not deter the Communists.

What the Archbishop states as a fact is only an assumption, but he implies that what kind of gospel is to be preached must depend on whether it will be heeded. Such sermons might well help to create the demand that Britain should not make the H-bomb, and Soviet reaction to such a decision cannot be predicted.

If the Archbishop really means that the moral decision as to what Britain should do is to be determined by Soviet reaction to it he is surrendering to what he believes to be evil, and the last word is with the devil.

The Archbishop divides the argument in favour of unilateral disarmament into one of expediency and one of principle, and he dismisses the former on the assumption that it would invite domination by the Communists or occupation by the Americans.

When he turns to principle he still argues in terms of expediency and makes the mistake of implying that a nation without arms is without defence.

SPIRITUAL FORCES

But the almightiness of God consists in the absoluteness not of His power but of His Love, and the Archbishop should be the last person to ignore the pacifist conviction that there are moral and spiritual forces, only to be released when we cease to rely on material might, which provide both defence and a method of resistance which do not violate conscience.

So the Archbishop comes down on the side of the H-bomb, but argues that it is not an end in itself but a means to "win time for peace-making." He thus falls into the error of justifying the means by the end, and ignores the fact that the means must be consistent with the end.

Though Christ refused what the Archbishop would regard as the defensive sword not only for the protection of his own person but for the liberation of his country, his Grace blesses the H-bomb as a shield for peacemaking in Christ's name.

The Archbishop admits that he may be tragically wrong, but if there is a risk in making as well as in renouncing the H-bomb and the issue is not to be settled on grounds of principle alone, the rival risks should be carefully weighed—the destruction of the world if the Archbishop is wrong, the domination of the world by Communism if the pacifist is wrong.

Which risk should a Christian prefer to run? To prefer death to Communist domination may sound very heroic but in fact it is the parallel of suicide rather than facing responsibility.

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"Richard and I are in this together"

The Aclands pay their last visit to Gravesend Labour Party HQ.

Pacifists and 'Practical Men'

By Sir RICHARD ACLAND

EVER since I have been engaged in politics there have been, as far as concerns foreign affairs, three significant groups.

There have been the pacifists; at the other extreme there have been the Diehards; between them (or forming a triangle with them) have been the Practical Men of Good Will, who clearly rejected the folly of the Diehards but, while respecting the philosophy of the pacifists, could not recommend pacifism to the British electors as a proposal to be put into immediate operation.

In the thirties, the Diehards believed in arming Britain rather inefficiently for the sake of defending Britain, without ever raising a finger when dictators gobbled up one little country after another, in the hope that this would "appease" the dictators' appetites before they got so far as to bite a British interest. The Practical Men saw that this led to inevitable world-scale disaster, and recommended a policy of Collective Security.

Collective Security in the 'thirties was a tolerably sensible plan. In brief it said:

"Let there be no more private wars; no more private preparation for one's own private defence; when there be threat of aggression, let there be a jury of nations to decide who's right and who's wrong; then let us all agree to cut off all trade with the one who's wrong, for after all most nations could be brought to their knees by complete trade boycott."

"But" the Practical Men were asked, "what will you do if the aggressor tries to shoot his way out of your trade boycott?"

There is no doubt at all about the Collective Security reply: "If he starts shooting, we shall all shoot back."

Collective Security

I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that Collective Security, administered and led by British statesmen who believed in Collective Security, would have prevented the Second World War—perhaps prevented it for ever, and certainly prevented it from breaking out as it did. Lip service to Collective Security given by a government of Diehards was the sure highway to disaster—and, alas, that is what we got.

In struggling against that Diehard government in the 'thirties, it was desperately difficult to find any basis of co-operation between the pacifists and the Practical Men. Collective Security depended in the last resort upon unlimited use of force. How, in conscience, could a pacifist commend it?

I believe an entirely different situation exists today. "Collective Security," if I may dare to say so, has become a meaningless term used mainly by Diehards in support of a policy which is in fact something completely different.

The Power Struggle

In the 'thirties, there really were at least seven or eight nations which could legitimately lay claim to being first-class world powers; these, together with a couple of dozen genuinely independent second-class powers, were capable of forming a council of nations which could have been called "world jury" without too great strain on those words. Under resolute leadership, it ought to have been possible to rally A, B, C, D, and E, to join forces (economic at first but military if necessary) against aggressor F; and to rally A, B, C, D, and F against aggressor E; and so on.

Such conditions have completely disappeared. There are two first-class powers as far as military power goes. "Collective Security" today means simply an attempt, under a recently popular name, to rally together as

much support as possible for US-and-our-Allies against Them-and-their-Allies. In other words Collective Security is today the name for the policy which the Diehards have always believed in.

Meanwhile I think that the developments of the last few years have opened up new ground for the Practical Men of Goodwill. I am more sorry than I can say that this ground did not seem to be apparent to the Archbishop of York who seemed to suppose that he must either be a pacifist (and, like me, he finds the pacifist arguments in principle to be enormously strong) or he must be a practical statesman and agree to the making of the H-bomb.

I wish that he had given public consideration to a third alternative. I am myself a practical politician. I feel that any policy which I recommend should be defensible on moral principles but should also be such that it can be commended to the British electors as a practical proposition for acceptance within the next two or three years. I do not think the British electors could be persuaded that Britain should be now, unilaterally, so disarmed as would enable General Franco's militia to flip us out of Gibraltar for a "push-over." I look at countries such as Sweden and Switzerland. I see that either could be annihilated in a few hours by thermo-nuclear attack. But each, from an armament point of view, is a prickly hedgehog; and no one could nibble off a little piece of either with a couple of regiments of infantry. And yet I see that from time to time both countries make crucial contributions to the work of pacification—Sweden, for example, supplying the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Follow the Swedes and Swiss

I believe that it is practical politics to suggest to the man in the street that *mutatis mutandis* and allowing for our different geographic position and world status, we might well aim to be armed in a comparable manner to the Swedes or the Swiss.

This would take us out of the arena of thermo-nuclear threat. We should no longer be a part of one of the two poles between which is today stretched that deadly tension of fear, suspicion, power and hate, which we call "The Deterrent."

If at the same time we set ourselves in the leadership of the world war on world want; if we were ready, as soon as is practicable, to contribute up to 300 millions a year to an international effort to help the world's poor to help themselves; then I think that we might be in a position, over the coming decades, to play our part in assuaging the deadly tension which now tears the heart out of mankind.

I developed the argument further in my recent speech in the House of Commons; I shall develop it further still in the Gravesend by-election—or in the General Election if the lesser be absorbed in the greater.

In the 'thirties, co-operation between pacifists and the Practical Men of Good Will was impossible because Collective Security was incongruous with the pacifist case. I most earnestly hope that in the new situation the Practical Men and the pacifists will find that their arguments and their outlook, though different from each other, are none the less congruous with one another, and that an active co-operation will therefore be possible.

Sir Richard Acland's views—p. 2

PEACE NEWS

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The enemies of freedom do not argue. They shout and they shoot.
—W. R. INGE.

World War for a fiction?

THE governments allied to the US would do well to consider the replies given by General Chiang Kai-shek to some written questions submitted to him by The Times special correspondent in Formosa.

What he has to say is substantially as follows: Any cease-fire that is achieved in the Straits of Formosa can be regarded only as a temporary arrangement, a present acceptance of the fait accompli. Such a cease-fire must, however, differentiate between the aggressor and the victim. The aggressor is Russia, acting through the instrumentality of the Chinese Communists. The victim is the Chiang Government and its forces.

The sacrifice of the Chinese coastal islands, he says, would sound the death-knell of the United Nations, for it would be a deliberate sacrifice of a victim to an aggressor. The whole Chinese mainland is an integral part of the territory of the Republic of China. Quemoy and Matsu are equally integral parts, but these are under the effective control of the Republic of China.

All this would be merely the innocuous posturing of a government out of power if it were not for the fact that behind Chiang, maintaining his power over the people of Formosa, and insisting on the preposterous fiction that he represents the Chinese nation in the United Nations, is the Government of the United States, and that harassing and goading the US Government is an unscrupulous combination of representatives of various big business interests.

Chiang speaks of a large number of people on the Chinese mainland who are ready to support him; although this is highly questionable it is beyond doubt that he has considerable influential support on the American mainland, and it is these people much more than Chiang himself who place peace (and the world) in jeopardy.

Chiang's weak position from a military standpoint puts him in a very strong position in negotiation with the Knowland wing of the Republican Party, and the hardfaced business interests whose organ of expression is US News and World Report, and whose representative in the Government is Walter Robertson, charged with Eastern affairs.

The problem for the US is to keep Chiang standing. Until a few months ago it was evident that the Chiang government, like the Syngman Rhee government, had been gambling on world war. They hoped to move to positions of power in a new general upheaval and they had no disinclination to take responsibility for applying the match that would set all aflame.

This, however, was before the full implications of H-bomb warfare were realised. They know today that as the flash-point for a new world war they are even less likely to be immune from total destruction than are Russia, the USA and Europe. While, just as the big Powers, they are still ready to carry on with the dangerous game of bluff and bluster they are today no more ready to face the consequences of world war than are the rest of us. For South Korea this point of view has even been openly expressed, for when Admiral Radford, one of the most chauvinistic of the US service chiefs, threatened that atomic weapons would be used if there were a new aggression in Korea, the South Korean General Li remarked that his country could not "afford such a policy for its very existence." There is little doubt that Chiang's government has an equal realisation of that fact.

What the interests represented by Senator Knowland, Mr. Walter Robertson and Mr. David Lawrence are really afraid of is that the Chinese army officials on Formosa might change sides and make peace. This would be very much in the Chinese tradition. Such changes have occurred during the civil war on the mainland. The Chiang and the Mao regimes would fit together very well indeed. Chiang's Formosa is at least as much a "police state" as is mainland China; and Chiang's son, who is responsible for its police system, was in fact Moscow-trained.

We believe then that the key to many of the inflammatory things that come from the militaristic wing of the US Republican Party and their representatives in the government is to be found not so much in the fear that the Chinese Government may make war, but in the fear that the Formosa Government may make peace.

We repeat what we have frequently urged before: that the right way for the Western powers outside America to deal with the situation in the Pacific is to move in the UN Assembly for a frank examination of the rights and wrongs of the Chinese UN representation.

Sir Richard Acland's views

WE are glad to publish the article that appears in this issue from Sir Richard Acland. Pacifists will find in it much with which to agree and much which will appear to them as being very unrealistic, and calling for the inverted commas for the term "practical men" in Sir Richard's title.

There is, however, no need for us to insist on the fact that Sir Richard speaks for himself and not for those who are responsible for the publication of Peace News. This was made evident in his message in last week's issue. We are not supporting Sir Richard in his campaign because of his general views on international affairs but because of his action on the H-bomb which we believe to be very important.

We hope in the future we may be able to support pacifists who will be taking similar action.

No issue outweighs the H-bomb

WHATEVER has been settled by the Labour Party Executive regarding Mr. Bevan, it will make little difference in relation to political issues in this country, however it may affect the people engaged in politics. For neither in home nor foreign policy is there any serious difference between Mr. Bevan and the Labour Party leadership.

There is in fact very little serious difference between the policies, domestic or international, of the Labour Party and the Conservatives in Parliament. It is this dominating fact that makes political discussion today so profitless and unreal.

The importance of the Bevan dispute has not been in the differences that have been disclosed but in the real and immense difference that it is helping to cover up. This is the difference on the H-bomb, an issue which Sir Richard Acland is seeking to bring into public discussion, but on which there is an obvious desire on the part of all wings of all parties that there shall not be serious discussion.

We believe that Sir Richard has raised an issue that pacifists engaged in political activity can no longer evade. As he himself has remarked, the advice to stay inside and argue the case within the Party "is often tolerated by the controllers of the organisation just so long as it will clearly fall short of being effective." This attitude is not usually presented in the egregious terms just used by the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress:

"Every man has the right to his conscience, but when personal conscience interferes with the good of the party, then personal conscience must give way"; but it amounts to very much the same thing.

That pacifists in politics have often in the past been prepared to compromise in regard to voting in exchange for tolerance in the expression of their views is to be understood. They held that they were representing minority opinion in a party with whose general policy they were otherwise in agreement.

The question of the H-bomb cannot be treated in this way. The issue is so clearly of much greater magnitude than the total of all other issues covered by politics. Those who face the question of the use of the H-bomb as a moral challenge—and not only the pacifists—must realise that here is an issue upon which they cannot be governed by any standing orders. It is an issue upon which there cannot be a tolerated absten-

BEHIND THE NEWS

"Prestige"

FRANCE is now to join Britain in the competition in the new barbarism.

Following the British Government's decision to make the H-bomb the French Prime Minister, M. Faure, has announced that France, which so far has not even made atom-bombs, is also to have it.

In making the announcement M. Faure remarked "France cannot remain in an inferior category of nations because she does not have the thermo-nuclear weapons." In the same vein he commented "A demarcation line is being drawn between nations possessing thermo-nuclear means and those who do not. These who have thermo-nuclear means are considered superior to those who do not."

Considered by whom? By the governments that are stock-piling the H-bomb, of course. Hitler Germany had similar conceptions of superiority and may conceivably have felt that the possession of Belzen and Auschwitz added to German prestige. It is only the barbarians of the world that would agree with her, and it is only the barbarians of the world who will hold that France will have added to her greatness by acquiring the means for the mass destruction of children and other defenceless folk.

The French are a great people. Their great gifts to the world are to be found in their contributions to thought, the arts and the art of living. By joining Britain in accepting the degraded standards that America and Russia are spreading in the world they become not greater but less.

A "Civil Defence" last-ditcher

NOT many politicians feel it worth while today, in the face of the new knowledge about the H-bomb, to say very much about "Civil Defence." We observe, however, that Lord Jowitt, leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords, felt it incumbent upon himself to say the ritual words in the Lords debate on the "Defence" White Paper.

He confessed, however that he found "rather a sense of despair" about it, but contended that we should have an adequate Civil Defence system because then "we should convince everyone, including the Russians, that we were taking the thing seriously," and he looked for some slight comfort in some comments of Professor Haldane on the desirability of constructing a Civil Defence system based on the general provision of deep shelters.

It will be seen that Lord Jowitt is really concerned with two things. The second of these, treated rather perfunctorily, is the saving of human lives. We will not concern ourselves with this now because anybody who has acquainted himself with the character of H-bomb warfare will immediately perceive that it is nonsense.

The first and more important matter that is exercising Lord Jowitt is the facade. We have to convince everyone, including the Russians, (and, of course, including as many of the British as

possible) that we are taking the thing seriously.

That surely raises in our minds a rather important question. We commend it to Lord Jowitt for investigation.

Are the Russians taking the thing seriously?

We have been given quite considerable information about the armed strength of the Russians, their strength in the air, their naval strength, and the number of army divisions they have available. There is, however, great reticence about what is known regarding their civil defence measures.

It would surely be interesting to know what they are doing. It would provide a useful indication as to what was thought to be practicable on that side of the world and might even throw some light on their intentions. It might show everyone, including the British, whether they were taking the thing seriously.

"Secretary of Peace"

IN January this year Mr. A. H. Head, Secretary of State for War, remarked that his Ministry should really be called the Ministry of Peace, a claim which might very well be equally made by the head of the Russian armed forces, in which case we should immediately perceive that it was an example of Orwellian double talk.

Mr. Harold Stassen has just been appointed in the United States to a post that is described as being tantamount to that of Secretary of Peace. There is here, however, an important difference for Mr. Stassen has not been appointed to head a war department. He is to be a Special Presidential assistant with Cabinet rank, and his function will be to direct studies of United States and World disarmament, including control of nuclear weapons.

The appointment is described as the first of its kind made by any government. We welcome the news with a certain amount of reserve. US politicians and statesmen have these imaginative impulses, but they are apt to cool very rapidly, and a generous intention can become part of the material with which cold war is waged.

The late Senator Brien McMahon and Mr. Walter Reuther have both made strikingly generous proposals for turning preparation for war among men into a war upon war. Neither, however, showed any staying power in regard to these proposals and both allowed their political activities to become absorbed in the waging of the cold war. Similarly with President Truman's Point Four programme. This was a fine conception, shortly to be superseded for all practical purposes by Mutual Security Aid.

It is all too evident that the work that Mr. Stassen is to organise can in its turn become integrated in the cold war struggle. At this stage, however, it does not seem that this is the President's intention. One hopeful aspect of the appointment is that it is said to reflect a recognition that the Baruch plan has little relevance to the situation today.

Apartheid railway station

RECENT increase in apartheid policy in South Africa has given scope to race-indoctrinated architects, who have now planned a new railway station for Capetown.

Costing over £5,000,000, and estimated to take ten years to build, the new station will not only have separate waiting rooms and restaurants, but also corridors and subways.

White passengers will cross a beautiful lawn, bordered by shrubs, to reach the booking office. Blacks will climb a ramp to the second floor.

MEETING WITH NIEMOLLER

THIS letter is actually being written in Wiesbaden, Germany, where I have just had a very stimulating and delightful visit with Martin Niemöller and his wife. The latter, incidentally, is, if anything a more devoted Christian pacifist than her husband and eager to do her part in spreading the message.

I have visited a number of German cities along with International Fellowship of Reconciliation colleagues Clifford Macquire of the British For and Andre Trocme, continental secretary of IFOR, taking part in the campaign against rearmament. To our great joy we find that despite the ratification of the Paris agreement at Bonn the rearmament campaign is by no means over. As Pastor Mochalski at Darmstadt told us: "They started this campaign to remilitarize Germany in 1950. Now it is 1955 and we are not yet rearmed. Who knows how much longer it will take before the advocates of remilitarization reach their goal?"

The cities we have visited include Berlin, Hamburg, Dortmund, Wuppertal, Cologne, Bonn—where we had a conference on conscientious objectors with an official of the Defence Ministry—Frankfurt, Darmstadt and Stuttgart. In most of these places—notably in Hamburg—we have also met enthusiastic War Resisters' International members, including some who were at the Triennial Conference in Paris last summer.

A word should be said about the very important meeting of the General Synod of the German Evangelical Church—EKID—held in a small town in the Ruhr last week. We had heard that reactionary forces were at work and that Heinemann and Niemöller might be forced out of their posts on the very powerful 12-man Council of EKID because of their continued opposition to rearmament and, in

Niemöller's case, his coming out as a pacifist. It is regrettably true that Bishop Dibelius and with him the majority, probably, of the Synod hold that Bonn having voted for rearmament, opposition should cease, and a moderate non-pacifist was elected in Heinemann's place as Chairman of the Council. But, on the other hand, Heinemann was chosen a member of the Council and may well be freer to pursue a radical policy than he could as Chairman. Niemöller was also re-elected to the Council and retains also his place as head of EKID's department of "foreign affairs" and ecumenical relations. Two others of the same persuasion as these two were also elected to the Council. One meeting of pacifist and near pacifist clergy from both East and West

Germany has already been held. Others are to follow. The whole General Synod supported the rights of conscientious objectors and appointed a committee to deal with the government on such matters. When one compares all this with the Protestant Church in Germany before the war, we can truly say that "the world does move."

Since I must make a long jump from Frankfurt to Stockholm tomorrow, I can mention only one other matter. To one who, though not a Britisher, has followed British politics and especially the Labour movement for many years, the decision of Sir Richard Acland to resign his seat and contest a bye-election on the issue that Great Britain must renounce the H-bomb and atomic war seems a development

CROSSMAN, WIGG, AND THE H-BOMB

Two MPs Richard Crossman and George Wigg, favour the manufacture of the H-bomb as a deterrent. Last week A. J. Muste examined and answered some of their arguments. He continues:

Conventional military forces do not count in the era of nuclear "deterrence." War, if deterrence does not deter, will be atomic (At an earlier stage it was stressed that this would mean suicide for Britain. But why, as the boys say, bring that up now?)

Since conventional weapons do not really count any more, the authors' argument proceeds, the last vestige of reason for rearming Germany is gone. To create "a military vacuum in the centre of Europe has become a common interest of East and West." As the US and Russia can agree on a neutralised and united Germany, its neutrality presumably guaranteed by the nuclear military establishments of the colossus of the West and of the East respectively.

The authors do not say whether this regime

is to be imposed on the German people, or whether its institution depends on their choosing it, but I shall not go into this question further. There are other reasons why this proposal seems to me, at best, too uncertain to warrant the H-bomb adventure and, at worst, preposterous.

For example, it assumes that Moscow will sacrifice the present Communist leaders in Germany. If it does, how long will it hold the leaders in the satellite countries in line, and how long will these leaders be able to hold their people in line and keep them from demanding the blessed state of neutrality?

On the basis of power considerations, I do not see that Moscow needs to sue for an end of the struggle over Germany. Its H-bombs are fully as "deterrent" on US policy as US

of great and joyful significance. For one so deeply respected as a person and so widely known to take this stand for political commonsense and moral decency and Christian consistency is heartening beyond words. I watch eagerly to see whether others will follow.

Essentially Sir Richard's position is now a Third Camp one, it appears to me, and I may end by saying that in Germany this position has gained tremendously since I was here last summer. In every place where I have spoken I have been asked to deal with it. In a number of instances this was as a result of the WRI Conference last August and I believe it indicates that the Third Way Conference next September may prove to be of special significance.

H-bombs on Moscow. Granting that the Kremlin wants to see Western Germany not rearmed, it still has means of delaying rearmament for some time. On the other hand, to have a unified and neutralised—in effect prosperous and pacifist—Germany in the centre of Europe is something the Kremlin will want when it is ready for a general settlement and genuine and enduring peace, but hardly till then.

The same kind of thing can be said, I hasten to add, of the US. Let the US forces be withdrawn from Western Europe, and West European nations deprive themselves of their conventional forces and armaments, since, as I understand Crossman-Wigg, these don't count in the H-bomb age, and the Pentagon will figure that this leaves the Russian armies free to take over Western Europe and the only recourse the US will have is to bomb the Russians out of there, or try to bomb Russia

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Letter from Germany by A. J. Muste

A CHALLENGE TO US ALL

"DON'T make the H-bomb." So, according to a Gallup Poll, say 43 per cent. of the people of Britain.

Today all the British newspapers carry some comment on the view that Britain should pull out of the arms race—the pacifist way. Although it is mostly adverse, the issue is no longer ignored.

This is a challenging situation. To meet it we have stepped up the size of Peace News. You have already stepped up our circulation.

Please keep at it. It we can push up our total circulation to 14,000 we can meet the cost of producing the extra pages without putting up our Forward Fund target beyond the required £2,000.

Get circulation up to 20,000 and we can bring the price down to 3d. for eight pages.

W. H. Smith Ltd. have already ordered extra copies of Peace News for their bookstalls.

Ask your newsagent if he will display an extra copy for sale which you will pay for if unsold at the next weekend.

Another need is for more people who will deliver copies each week in their neighbourhood.

Henry Francies, of Loughton, distributes 96 copies weekly and Stanley Seamark, of Northampton, 110, by hand and by post. We don't ask you necessarily to equal these giants. But can you arrange to deliver three, four, five or six copies each week to known sympathisers in your district?

It's the small weekly task undertaken regularly that is the foundation of our peace movement.

Watch your local newspapers for anyone expressing a sympathetic viewpoint, then post or take a copy of Peace News to them—and offer to supply it weekly.

Your time and money! We need them both, desperately, in this present period which may well prove to be a turning point in history.

HUGH BROCK.

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Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Britain should take the lead in renouncing "suicidal weapons"

A forthright letter from the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom was sent last month to all Members of Parliament. It urged that this country should take the lead in advocating the total renunciation of "these suicidal weapons."

"We regard the publication of the White Paper," it said, "as particularly disastrous at this moment when the Disarmament Conference is opening in London; it would appear to preclude from the start any realistic discussion of mutual agreements for disarmament and for the abolition of atomic and nuclear weapons."

"There is a growing conviction amongst eminent thinkers and responsible people in all walks of life that Communism cannot be overcome by war or the threat of war, and that a better means of meeting the challenge must be found."

See also page five

Book on passive resistance banned in Northern Rhodesia

"THE Doctrine of Passive Resistance," by Sri Aurobindo, published by Arya Publishing House, Calcutta, is among the books and journals which are on the prohibited list in Northern Rhodesia.

Few of the banned items are Communist; many originate from the Jehovah Witnesses and the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.

All issues of "Spotlight on Africa," published by the Council of African Affairs in New York, and all material published by the Independent Publishing Co., of London, which issues "The African and Colonial World" are also banned.

By Hugh Brock

Friday-nighter, Peggy Smith sells about six. Winifred Greenfield, who puts in long hours of selling in Charing Cross Road, disposes of 6 dozen each week.

If two people between them can ensure that a "rush-hour" pitch has its PN seller there every week at the same hour, they can be sure of a steady sale for the paper.

Hornsey Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem

GERMAN REARMAMENT PEACE OR WAR?

Wm. Warbey, M.P. Arthur Lewis, M.P.
Mervyn Jones Stuart Morris

Chair: Ted Bedford, Sec. Political Committee, LCS

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"THE DAYS OF THE ADMIRALS ARE OVER"

—Emrys Hughes, MP

THE theme of Emrys Hughes' after-midnight speech to the House of Commons, during the Navy Estimates Debate on March 3 was that the Navy should be wound up, and that its members should be given useful jobs to justify their existence.

"On these matters," he said, "I am often a very lonely voice, and we have a sort of gentlemanly coalition between the two Front Benches. There is Masterman Unready sitting on the Government Bench and Mr. Midshipman Uneasy on this side of the House, rather uncomfortable when we get down to fundamental principles."

"I do not want to improve the Navy. I want to wind up the Navy and give the gentlemen who are now in the Navy something useful to do to justify their existence."

He continued, "It is quite understandable that the Admiralty consists of very gallant gentlemen who have served their country according to their lights, and who have done it bravely and courageously, and so on, but who are quite out of touch with modern thought. They naturally want the Navy to go on and on, and the British Admiralty to go on for eternity, because it means jobs for themselves and for their grandsons and great-grandsons."

But when, in the atomic age they come along and want us to spend £356,750,000 at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is so hard up for money that he wants us to clamp down on hire purchase for perambulators and things of that kind, it is time that the ordinary representative of the British taxpayer asked some questions."

It works both ways

Referring to the Prime Minister's speech on March 1, when he said that if necessary 100 targets could be pinpointed for attack in the USSR, Emrys Hughes reasoned that this could work both ways.

"There will be somebody in the strategic department in Moscow who will work out 100

places on the map to be pinpointed if an attack on this country is supposed to be necessary. . . . The Russian strategist will say, 'Where do they build British cruisers? Where are they likely to repair them?' He will say, 'On the Clyde and at Belfast.' What will be left of John Brown's shipbuilding yard after a hydrogen bomb attack?"

Adhering to his viewpoint that defence against the A and H-bomb was futile, Emrys Hughes continued:

"The days of the admirals are over. They are as obsolete as Guy Fawkes. There is no future for them, and in time they will find that even the First Lord of the Admiralty will not be able to come along to the House of Commons and insult hon. Members who are prepared to stay after midnight, by presenting them with a colossal bill in which no one really believes. Of course we want to find jobs for these distinguished gentlemen. I do not want to see any of them unemployed."

"There is no reason why the admirals and all the people who organise military strength could not be employed in developing our national resources, and no reason why the naval dockyards should not be engaged in building river craft for the Chinese, or dredgers for the Soviet Union, or doing something to cement decent international friendship throughout the world. When one begins to think in these terms there is real hope and a real sign of sanity after all."

Chamber of horrors

Speeches made in the Commons during that week had made him feel as though he were in the Chamber of Horrors instead of the Chamber of the Commons. The Prime Minister had talked of Britain being devastated and Western Europe being destroyed within a few hours. That was defeatism, and he did not believe that the British preferred a defeatist policy to Communism.

"I do not want Russian Communism in this country because as a free-thinker and a political non-conformist I should be among the first to disappear. I would not be able to address the Soviet Praesidium of the USSR in the way that I can address the House of Commons. I do not want to see Russian Communism in this country, but I would prefer to see Russian Communism here rather than this country become a mass of radio-active ruins."

Leonard Callaghan (Cardiff South-East) remarked that Emrys Hughes was only one in isolation, but was answered: "I am not the only one in isolation. I am making converts all the time. I recall that only a few weeks ago there were only six; now there are 57 of us (a reference to the Labour Party rebels in the H-bomb vote). There is no other political party increasing at such a rate."

"GUILTY MEN"

SPEAKING in the Army Estimates Debate on March 8, Mr. George Wigg MP (Dudley) said in the Commons that the country was being asked to provide some £1,500,000,000 to maintain British youth on the Continent, for 2 years National Service, whilst the Government knew that in "no conceivable circumstances will they ever be able to fight effectively."

"I think it is likely that some person with an able pen is now compiling the material for the second volume of 'Guilty Men.' There is no doubt that the Prime Minister has established his right to inclusion in that volume," he said, "and I do not think that the Secretary of State has done very badly."

New peace poster

I AM NOT PREPARED
TO AGREE
TO DROP
A Hydrogen Bomb

on any people
in any place
at any time, and

IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCE
WHICH CAN POSSIBLY BE
IMAGINED

CHARLES ROYLE, M.P.
House of Commons

Above is the wording on the latest poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Clifford street, York (6d post free). Other recent titles are: (1) "Wars will cease when men renounce war—you can't have peace while relying on war"; (2) "The only way to ban the H-bomb is to ban war itself"; (3) "Overcome all illwill by goodwill: all barriers by friendly co-operation"; (4) "No man can serve two masters." This last poster carries a reproduction of the News Chronicle cartoon showing the shadow of an H-bomb explosion cast in the form of a cross

PEOPLE AND PLACES

H-BOMB C.O.

PEACE NEWS office is situated in the Parliamentary constituency of Stoke Newington and Hackney North, and represented in the Commons by David Weitzman, QC.

I was glad therefore to see that "our" MP was one of the 61 who refused to support the manufacture of the H-bomb, indicating their opposition by not supporting the Labour vote of censure in the "Defence" debate.

In a statement to the Stoke Newington Observer Mr. Weitzman said:

"I am neither a Bevanite nor an Attleeite. I am simply a member of the Parliamentary Labour Party and I abstained from voting because I have a conscientious objection to the manufacture of the H-bomb."

PPU's SECRET WEAPON?

I'VE been reading snippets from various sources of the wonderful tour in Australia, India, and Malaya by Dame Sybil Thorndike and her husband Lewis Casson.

The reception in India was friendly. This mild statement has to be read in the context of the sequence of headlines in the London Times: THE ARTS: THE CASSONS IN INDIA: THEATRE'S PART IN THE COLD WAR.

Only a correspondent of The Times could imagine the Hon. Treasurer of the Peace Pledge Union touring India on behalf of the cold war. He imagined her off-setting victories

scored by Russian and Chinese artists in recent visits.

Summing up, The Times correspondent said: "As entertainment their tour has been a success . . . As another thrust in the cold war it is more difficult to judge its effect"! (My exclamation mark).

To bring this note down to earth. Here is an extract from a letter Dame Sybil sent to Sybil Morrison before the Cassons arrived in India:

"We've had a tremendously thrilling tour, packed houses everywhere—met lots of pacifist friends, and now off to India and Malaya to do the same. We've had just on six months travelling, with three of four recitals a week—all by plane—air services wonderful, and we both feel years younger. Staying out to do a play with Ralph Richardson."

IN THE SQUARE

ON most Fridays I stop work at 5 p.m. and hie myself off to Trafalgar Square to sell Peace News for about an hour by St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church.

Like Tom, Dick and Harry (I don't know their real names) the three men who stand in a row along side me selling the Evening News, the Star and the Standard respectively, I find I now know my "regulars" who pop up out of the "rush-hour" thousands milling around the Square.

I sell between six and twelve copies in the hour, occasionally more; another regular

US pacifist contests subversion charge

Dr. WILLARD UPHAUS, Director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, USA, and a well-known Methodist layman, was subpoenaed twice last year to appear before the New Hampshire Attorney-General.

At the first hearing, which lasted three hours, Dr. Uphaus placed a Bible and the Methodist Discipline upon the Attorney-General's desk, indicating that these sources were his guides rather than either Washington or Moscow.

At the second hearing, it was demanded that Dr. Uphaus submit the 1954 guest list to his summer camp, correspondence with prospective speakers, and details of his employees. The Director did not comply, on the grounds that to have done so would be contrary to the Old Testament teaching, "Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people."

Immediately, the Attorney-General petitioned for trial for Dr. Uphaus. It was insinuated that the Doctor was using religion as a cover to subversive activities.

The Religious Freedom Committee, a national body of clergymen and laymen organised to defend religious freedom advised Dr. Uphaus that there were no legal rights by which a Connecticut citizen, who had not committed a crime could be brought before a New Hampshire Court. Dr. Uphaus did not therefore appear, though he engaged an attorney to argue the issue of jurisdiction before the court.

The Judge held Dr. Uphaus in contempt and fined him 500 dollars, in November, 1954.

An appeal is planned.

In a personal statement of faith to the Attorney General, Dr. Uphaus stated that he was a Protestant and a pacifist, who based his faith and conduct on the ethical teachings of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus.

"Our activities at World Fellowship," he said, "are open to all. We have nothing to hide. I repeat my invitation to the Governor and the Attorney-General of New Hampshire to come to World Fellowship to speak," he said.

Easter Work Camp at Bristol

THE Community Association on the 3,000-house estate at Southmead, Bristol, has been functioning in a Nissen hut over the past few years. As the site will be needed for other purposes within the next two years, the Association are planning to erect a permanent centre, work on which will commence in April.

Friends Work Camps Committee aim to help members of the Association begin work on the Centre, and plan that 15 persons of either sex, over 18 years of age, coming from any country, will assist in the digging and laying of the foundations. If the weather proves unfriendly, indoor work will be given as an alternative.

Applicants are encouraged to stay for the whole period—April 2 to 18. British campers are expected to pay their own fares and provide their own pocket money, as well as pay as much as possible to the full amount of the estimated 32s. 6d. per head per week for food and overheads.

Forms can be obtained from The Friends Work Camps Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.



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HOPE IN ALL THIS?

Peter Abrahams

reviews a new book by

Reginald Reynolds:

"Beware of Africans"

REGINALD REYNOLDS travelled through parts of Egypt, the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the two senior partners of the Central African Federation—Northern and Southern Rhodesia—and the Union of South Africa. His journey was a pilgrimage in search of hope for the future of these territories. Wherever possible Mr. Reynolds travelled and lived as did the ordinary people of the place in which he found himself. Also he travelled at a slower, more leisurely pace than most recent travellers who have written tomes on Africa.

There are, of course, great disadvantages in living and travelling in this way. Some of them emerge from the book: there are the filthy third-rate hotel rooms with soiled sheets, the difficulty often about getting food, the foul privies, the surly hotel keepers. It is small wonder that journalists doing their quick "authoritative" books prefer shooting from place to place by air, doing their researches at one "grand" hotel after another, always assured of comfort and service. But in avoiding these disadvantages, the journalists nearly always avoid meeting the people as people.

Reynolds met the people as people, at street level: a strange man moving among men, but a man just like themselves. I think the rucksack on his back and the untidy parcel of papers under his arm must have stamped him

*Jarrols, 18s.

Some selected titles on

OLIVE SCHREINER...

OLIVE SCHREINER—HER FRIENDS AND TIMES, D. L. Hobman 15s. (6d.)
Vera Buchanan-Gould's biography
NOT WITHOUT HONOUR, 15s. (6d.)

THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM, Olive Schreiner's novel 7s. 6d. (4d.)

...AND AFRICA TODAY

AFRICAN AWAKENING, Basil Davidson's latest 12s. 6d. (6d.)

BEWARE OF AFRICANS, Reginald Reynolds' just-out account of his African journey 18s. (6d.)

REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, Basil Davidson 16s. (6d.)

VENTURE INTO THE INTERIOR, Laurens van der Post (Cheap Edition) 3s. 6d. (3d.)

THE COLOUR PROBLEM, A. H. Richmond. An important new "Pelican" title covering all the topical issues 3s. 6d. (3d.)

EXPERIMENT IN TIME, Rev. Michael Scott's latest pamphlet 6d. (1½d.)

BECHUANALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA, Tshkedi Khama. Just out—an Africa Bureau pamphlet 1s. (1½d.)

Please add postage as bracketed; post free orders over £1.

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FRANK MERRICK

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at once as a man different from the all too common lordly type of white man found in parts of Africa and mockingly called *Bwana Kubwa*—big lord—by many Africans. And because he went to them without any racial or colour arrogance they accepted him with a warmth to which this book bears testimony. It is this quality, the quality of real human contact, of response to the subjective reality of human emotions that gives the book its value above and beyond either a travel diary or a political report.

But Reynolds is not sentimental about the

Dictatorship by Pressure Groups

By TOM WARDLE

Member of Peace News staff now lecturing in the U.S.A.

IF your impression of America comes from the radio stations and the comics and the magazines, then you will expect to find people talking at the top of their voice, talking confidently, aggressively about America's place in the world. American foreign policy, American prosperity, the American way of life.

You are in for a big surprise. The talking is there, of course, but it is *sotto voce*, and it is far from confident, let alone aggressive. Americans are further in fact from actual contact with the policies they are supposed to have created, than probably any people in the Atlantic world today. The people no longer exist in American politics. It is an affair of pressure groups—the Services, the Church, the Veterans, the Farmers, Labour, Big Business, Small Business, Professional Associations, Women's Associations, etc., etc. None of these is all-powerful, but equally none is devoid of power, and in the narrow margin between Republican and Democratic sway, a small pressure group may hold a key position. Authority in modern America therefore belongs to no one, and certainly not to the people. It is a tension between the groups, and it is this fact more than any other, which makes American attitudes at the moment so difficult for outsiders to understand and so nearly impossible for Americans themselves to change.

To work for reform in the United States today, one has to work in and through the pressure groups. To have any influence on Congress, the established system must be used. Lobbying and campaigning for group support are the techniques. And they are the very techniques which endorse and strengthen the pressure group system and make it still more impossible for the "non-grouped" American citizen to have his say. There is such a man, who has no affiliations with a pressure group, or whose affiliations are only superficial—but at the moment he has no opportunity of expressing himself simply as a citizen; his opinion must be routed via a pressure group, and thoroughly mangled in the process.

Many Americans today want a more reasonable foreign policy for their country, but they do not think about it seriously because there is no practical way of implementing their desires. They are like the British people, the victims of a two-party system which has become in practice a one-party system. (I was told by a Democratic Party agent that the parties frequently manufacture "issues of difference" in order to maintain the illusion of political struggle.)

Seen from inside America, the uniformity of the movement towards the "collective leadership" concept throughout the whole advanced world, Communist and non-Communist is even clearer. This is not dictatorship in the old sense of the word, with one man or one group in absolute power, but a kind of college of minor dictatorships holding the power between them. There is a constant attempt to upset the equilibrium, and when this happens someone falls. But at the same time there is a tacit agreement to help try to maintain the equilibrium, because, although all the groups are against each other, they are all in a way against the voter, against the return of the old-style democracy which took no account of the machines and the pressures. Democracy and peace are indivisible. Our friends in America, as in Russia and in Europe will have to address themselves to this problem before the undeniable desire for peace may find expression in the policies of peace.

Africans he met. He is not blinded to their faults, does not see them as paragons who can do no wrong. I am grateful for this, for to me "Nigger-loving" is a subtle, inverted form of patronage which I find more offensive than an out-and-out declaration of prejudice.

□ □

In Egypt he was asked; "What can we show you?" "Something very difficult," he replied. "The future."

And the future was tied up with valves needed in the great twin arteries of the White Nile and the Blue, with water storage and electrical power projects, and, above all, with the hungry, underpaid *fellaheen* and the children of the *fella*, and the position of women.

Reynolds builds up a fascinating picture of what individuals like Father Ayrout and his *Foyer Catholique*, and the American "Miss Lilian" who for some forty years ran an orphanage single-handed, are doing about social and educational problems. But on the government level, he felt that despite everything that had happened there was still a great vacuum to be filled. Feudalism had been overthrown but nothing had yet taken its place. He cites this story to illustrate his point:

"I remember once sitting in a garden with some quite charming Egyptians who were lamenting Stalin's death. Three feet away from the table where these near-Communists were talking, there sat a family servant, a woman. She was there to look after the children when the parents became tired of them. She sat ostentatiously apart. Nobody spoke to her (I couldn't for lack of Arabic) and she was not offered a drink."

□ □

In the Sudan the Gezira was the natural point of interest. Anyone who has not read about the Gezira Scheme before will find this the most wonderful reading as well as the most hopeful section of the entire book. There are great problems, of course, social as well as political and economic but somehow the magnificent achievements of the Gezira Scheme cast a wonderful glow of hope over the entire Sudan. Even, for me, over "the Deep South."

And so to Uganda, then over the border into Kenya and we are in multi-racial Africa and faced with what Reginald Reynolds calls (and I agree with him) The White Problem. In Kenya there is a White Mau Mau in the form of the Kenya Police Reserve. There are two terrors now, not one. Reynolds writes quietly, moderately, about this. The lily needs no gilding. But it makes ugly reading, uglier reading than the later South African section. It underlines the urgency of the recent Church Missionary Society Broadsheet on Kenya. The White Mau Mau is more efficient and therefore more dangerous than the Black.

One European told Reynolds: "Make no mistake, Grogan says what others think but don't say in 'Legco.' Don't think Grogan is just a joke." Grogan is the old Colonel in the Kenya Legislative Council who wants the Kenya Government to "take a hundred rascals" and hang them publicly for other Africans to see. A certain country did such things during the last war. Reynolds wants a Government commission from this country sent out to investigate the White Mau Mau.

□ □

It was in Northern Rhodesia, outside the copperbelt town of Broken Hill that Reynolds came across his title. East, Central and South Africa present only variations on the theme of "White Superiority."

Where did Reynolds find hope in all this? He found it in tiny islands of sane people, white as well as black. He found it in the vision of those working in Egypt, in Gezira and the clear vision of Mekki Abbas, among the Wachagga on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, in a chance encounter with an Afrikaner called Olivier, at St. Faith's where the Clutton-Blocks are sharing in the wonderful work, in the letter written to him by a girl from Pretoria.

I think he is probably right to see hope in human decency. After all, the peasant who tills the living earth and sees conquering armies pass and then fall back again while he goes on tilling the earth, is probably closer to the heart of reality than all the generals. But a bomb could as easily destroy that peasant as any soldier; so may I add, turning the import of Reginald Reynolds' title a bit, "Either be just to Africans or else BEWARE OF AFRICANS."

A post-war German novel

A Life for a Life, by Horst Fanger, Ballantine Books (US), 35s.

THE visitor in LOOKING BACKWARD was worried that the ease and comfort of Utopia would make the writing of fiction impossible. It seems a small worry and certainly in present day Europe an unnecessary one. In LIFE FOR A LIFE, one of the latest novels to come out of post-war Germany, there are conflicts a plenty, enough for a dozen novels of Boston in the year 2000.

It is difficult to criticize a novel like this; it is so dangerously close to the facts. We cannot say it is too brutal, too contrived, the characters too unnatural. It probably all happened.

We can only inquire whether this is another evidence of a new artistic life in Germany and whether the artist has an axe to grind. This judgment will have to be made by someone in closer touch with German literary life than I but, at least, Horst Fanger's novel tries to tell a story. It has a beginning, a middle, and an end—almost a happy one.

STEPHEN SITEMAN.

Fortieth Anniversary

A VENTURE IN GOODWILL

The story of the Women's International League

By MARGARET TIMS

Secretary, British Section

ONE morning in April, 1915, a small group of women stood on Tilbury dockhead, gazing out to sea. At other points along the coast, similar groups were waiting and watching: in all, some hundred and eighty women who hoped to break through war-time barriers and attend the Women's International Congress which had been summoned at The Hague by a Dutch doctor, Aletta Jacobs. But they waited in vain: the Admiralty had closed the North Sea.

Amongst the delegates was Olive Schreiner, and she wrote at the time:

"It will always be a matter of regret to me that I was not able to be present at your gathering as I had meant. The time has now come for the great step which humanity must take if it is to continue in its upward path—the step across the narrow bounds of nation and race into a larger and wider human fellowship."

However, the Congress did open, and with three British representatives—Kathleen Courtney and Chrystal Macmillan, who were already in Holland, and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence who travelled with the American contingent. In a world at war, the first step across "the narrow bounds of nation" was taken, and the Women's International League was born.

The Hague Congress passed eight resolutions, which were later seen to have formed the basis for President Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points." Embassies of goodwill were despatched from the Congress to the rulers of belligerent and neutral states with an appeal to stop the fighting and negotiate. They were received by statesmen of 16 countries, including Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey in London, and the German Foreign Minister in Berlin.

FOR DISARMAMENT

The title Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was adopted in 1919, and headquarters set up at Geneva. The British Section was formally founded in September, 1915, with Mrs. H. M. Swanwick as chairman; today its President is a scientist, Professor Kathleen Longdale, FRSC. The first International President was Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago; another American now holds this office, Emily Greene Balch, and both have received the Nobel Peace Prize.

During the years following the first world war, members of the British Section undertook relief work in Germany and missions of conciliation in Ireland, China and India. A nation-wide Peace Pilgrimage was organised, in co-operation with 27 other societies, in 1926, under the slogan "Law not War." Following this the Women's Peace Crusade, led by the WILPF, collected over two million signatures to a disarmament petition. National Sections are now actively working in 15 countries towards the goal of total and universal disarmament and the settlement of disputes by non-violent means. The League has consultative status with the United Nations as a non-governmental organisation.

In connection with the fortieth anniversary of the WILPF, the British Section is holding a reception for Mrs. Pandit, High Commissioner for India, who has long associations with its work. A campaign for new members will be launched at the Annual Council in April, and it is hoped that many more women will come forward and raise their voices to make the world safe for humanity. Women form a majority of the electorate, and how they respond to the challenge may well determine whether the WILPF, along with the rest of the community, will survive for another 40 years or only, as the Prime Minister has estimated, another four.

Non-violent Jews

FULL of humour, brilliant acting by Alfie Bass and good acting by David Kossoff and Miriam Karlin, the three plays in "The World of Sholom Aleichem" at the Embassy Theatre, Swiss Cottage, remind us of pre-war Germany where Jews were practically banned from "The High School" (gymnasium or grammar school), or only allowed on a quota of say 2 Jews to 23 non-Jews. Eventually in one school with a 50-50 quota (though each Jew had to pay for a Gentile) Jewish and Gentile pupils struck against this iniquitous system. An astounded parent exclaimed, "Why not strike against conscription because it takes our sons away?"

In "Bontche Schweig" a non-resister who has suffered violence and all other wrongs in silence and has never felt hateful, is accepted in Heaven without question, for no fault can be found with him.

In "A Tale of Chelm" (like the other two plays skilfully directed by Sam Wannamaker) a rabbi is quoted as telling warring nations: "The earth doesn't belong to either of you, you belong to the earth."

Another character imagines what he would do if he were Rothschild. "There have been enough wars, enough fear, enough widows. I will buy all the guns, bayonets and bombs so that no one may fight, and instead I will build factories for the necessities of life." Eventually he concludes that money makes wars and so he will do away with it.

PATRICK RICHARDS.

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DETERRENCE A DANGEROUS DOCTRINE

—Lord Boyd Orr

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"IF any great power would put forward the suggestion that one-tenth of the money now being spent on armaments be devoted to a world pool for the mutual benefit and co-operation of all peoples, then I believe that no nation, by refusing, would allow itself to be stigmatised as the enemy of the human race."

This was the view put forward by Lord Boyd Orr in his Conway Memorial lecture "Ethics in the Atomic Age," delivered in London this month.

"I believe that this is the country that should put forward that proposal; or preferably the British Commonwealth of Nations—India would come in," he continued.

There had already been two great experiments aimed at the abolition of war, he admitted. The League of Nations had broken down because every nation pursued its own selfish ends; the work of the United Nations was from time to time seriously frustrated for the same reason, as for example the work of the Food and Agriculture Organisation which was frustrated by Britain in regard to the world's wheat.

"Let us not trust this work to the politicians again," he said. "Let the peoples with common interests meet. Let the medical people meet, let the scientists meet, let the business men meet, and let the women meet—and let the peoples cross frontiers. The more people cross the Iron Curtain—terrible phrase that—the more they will see that the Russians are ordinary decent people like ourselves."

Lord Boyd Orr gave a brief but comprehensive survey of the problems which face the citizen in the atomic age.

Scientific knowledge had brought tremendous increase in industrial potential. In spite of two devastating world wars, in spite of an expenditure of £40,000 million a year on armaments, the standard of living throughout the world was higher today than in 1914. In the short period between 1938 and 1946 American industrial production increased by 100 per cent. We had had energy from coal, energy from petroleum; now we had nuclear energy; soon there would be solar energy and the ability to produce all the goods that all men wanted.

POPULATION

What were we going to do with this great machine we had produced? How could we adjust a system created in an era of scarcity to meet the needs of an era of abundance?

A second problem was that of population which in 1946 increased by 20 million a year, and today increased by 30 million a year, while the food resources of the world were running out.

Since 1900 the expectation of life in this country had risen from 50-70 years. As medi-

cal science was applied to the East, and malaria and other tropical diseases were stamped out, expectation of life would rise there also; the rate of population increase would be still further accelerated.

There were two answers to this problem, he said: An increase of agriculture and some measure of birth control. "I say it is morally wrong to bring into the world children who cannot be properly looked after," he added.

But science which had given us goods in abundance had also given us the hydrogen bomb.

He had himself stood in Hiroshima not very long after the dropping of the first atomic bomb; nothing remained in the centre of the city; all life blotted out. Now we had the hydrogen bomb, a bomb which could put an end to life over an area of 400 square miles; which could cast a lethal ray for a distance of 7,000 miles.

A NEW IDEAL

It was said, moreover, that one dozen scientists had the power to spread disease to 50 per cent. of the people in any one continent, and to destroy all crops. It was now possible to destroy all life on this planet.

"The doctrine of deterrence is a dangerous doctrine," he continued. "Fear breeds panic, panic breeds irrational action. We cannot exist on a world run on fear."

Without a faith man was powerless in face of the perils of the atomic age. The faith of the Nazis had been evil, but it had enabled them to overrun two-thirds of Europe; the faith of Communism had performed miracles in regard to the standard of living of the common people. The acceptance of some common beliefs, some common principles was a fundamental matter for the present time.

But a faith for the atomic age must not prevent the use of common sense, reason and knowledge, it must be such that it can be shared by all the peoples on the earth, and since man was more than a calculating machine, it must allow play for his emotional nature—his sympathy, kindness, love of beauty and need for idealism.

I suggest that faith for the atomic age be based on a belief in the inherent decency of mankind, a belief in the spirit of man to overcome his troubles, a belief in man's power to create a new world.

Given such a belief he thought that the peoples of the world could save the world from extinction. There would be something worth striving for, something worth sacrificing for; a new ideal for the atomic age.

"No" to Social Responsibility in Science

A society of scientists pledged to use science for constructive purposes only has been barred from membership to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Last December, the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, consisting of 300 engineers and scientists, of whom many are conscientious objectors to war, and three are Nobel Prize physicists (Dr. Albert Einstein, Dr. Max Born, and Dr. Hideki Yukawa) was rejected on the grounds of its limitations.

In a letter to the society, Dr. John Behnke, associate administrative secretary to the AAAS wrote, "the limitations of your objectives left considerable question as to the appropriateness of formally including SSRS in the structure of the organisation." He went on to say that a great deal of sympathy was expressed by many of the board members concerning "the worthy aims of your society."

Dr. Victor Paschkis, associate professor of mechanical engineering at Columbia University and chairman of the educational division of the society, said, "... it is a commentary on the times that a society dedicated to fostering the social responsibility of scientists has no place in the foremost organisation of science."

FRENCH PACIFIST FINED

ALTHOUGH the war in Indo-China was brought to an end under the pressure of French public opinion, Maurice Laisant has been fined 12,000 francs (£12) for exhibiting a poster on behalf of his organisation against the Indo-Chinese war. He is the Propaganda Secretary of the Forces Libres de la Paix (The free Forces for Peace, a federal body grouping the French pacifist organisations).

The prosecution was undertaken on the technical ground that the poster was printed on white paper, and white paper is legally reserved exclusively for official posters. Most of the posters exhibited on the walls of Paris, however, are printed on white paper and the Government does nothing about it. In this case the War Ministry intervened to secure a conviction.

Albert Camus, the famous novelist testified on behalf of Maurice Laisant.



LORD BOYD ORR

H-BOMB MEETING CHEERED ACLAND DECISION

"Unconventional weapon"

—EMRYS HUGHES, MP

"Sir Richard Acland has just concluded an historic speech. He has resigned his seat in the House of Commons because of his disagreement with the British manufacture of the hydrogen bomb."

LOUD applause greeted this unexpected announcement made by Emrys Hughes, MP, to a meeting organised in London by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee to protest against "this awful thing that is being done in our name."

Sir Richard had "used an unconventional political weapon," Emrys Hughes explained. He had thrown away his seat and risked his political future in order to bring the issue of the H-bomb to his constituents at Gravesend, and to the forefront of parliamentary debate.

He had also forced the Labour Party to re-examine its own attitude; any official Labour candidate opposing Sir Richard would have to fight the Gravesend bye-election on the narrow issue of "Peace through deterrence."

Already there were reverberations in the House. The questions of Acland, Attlee, Bevan; the possibility of purges and counter purges within the party; you could not separate these questions from the question of the H-bomb.

In her opening speech the Chairman, Sybil Morrison, emphasised the responsibility of the British people for the actions of their government.

Avoid catastrophe

"We are meeting here today under a shadow which is perhaps blacker than anything the world has ever known."

The Rev. Claude Colman, Congregational Minister of the Weigh House Church, described the bomb as a "denial of all the Christian faith claims to know of God and man."

He deplored the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Free Church Federation were not on the platform beside him. For there was a special reason why Church leaders should attend. Last year the great Assembly of the World Council of Churches, representing 164 different churches in 48 countries met to consider the international situation, and stated that the first condition for the avoidance of catastrophe was the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction. That meant the atom and hydrogen bomb. This statement was communicated to all the governments whose churches were represented. Never had a Christian appeal been so flagrantly flouted.

Professor Adrian had told us that there are already enough atom and hydrogen bombs in the world, which if exploded could so poison the atmosphere that all life would cease. Surely we had reached the point where all responsible human beings, whether Christian or rationalist, must turn their backs on war.

"Ten years ago this country faced the world as a great power" said VERA BRIT-TAIN, "Today it has the opportunity to seek another kind of glory: the possession of great moral leadership, of showing the world a third way between the two great powers. But by the endorsement of the H-bomb we have abdicated all claim to moral leadership."

She drew a parallel between the work of the Bombing Restriction Committee in the last war, and the present campaign.

Goal for humanity

It was in 1942, when this country first employed obliteration bombing, that Corder Catchpool and others formed a committee to protest at this use of genocide as a method of warfare. But the Committee had to confront the confused thinking, the propaganda, and heightened feeling of a wartime atmosphere; it had to meet tremendous fury from America, where the first atom bomb was in course of production. The present campaign had a great opportunity which was denied to that earlier committee, but the penalty for failure would also be greater: it might well be the extinction of humanity and civilisation throughout the world.

She hoped that no one would leave this hall without having first decided on at least one thing he or she could do to further the campaign.

"Deterrence may not deter. It may lead to a degree of fear on either side which will make

OVER £8,000,000 is to be spent on a vast joint headquarters, at Episkopi, Cyprus. This was disclosed by Mr. John Strachey M.P. (Dundee, West) during the Army Estimates Debate in the Commons on March 8.

Mr. Strachey did not see the point of creating vast new bases, which he considered would be targets for nuclear warfare. Commenting on the fact that this new headquarters would be much more vulnerable than the one at Suez, he said, "The Prime Minister gave very good reasons for evacuating Suez in the nuclear age."

General Sir Gerald Templar, at the request of the War Office and the Colonial Office, is to conduct an enquiry into the organisation and administration of Colonial military forces.

About 3,100 boys under the age of 20 years are now serving in Kenya.

The Colonial Secretary is to make an inquiry regarding Screening Condition of Africans in Kenya, following a request by Fenner Brockway, MP.

for a surprise attack with nuclear weapons."

This, said John Hoyland was one of the least quoted passages from that "grand funeral oration on the human race" made by Sir Winston Churchill in the House of Commons. It was true. Deterrents were deadly dangerous. The only hope and goal for humanity lay in world disarmament.

There was sitting at the present moment at Lancaster House the sub-committee of the UN Disarmament Commission, five good men and true. Could we not ask our government that it should approach this committee, offering to give up this hideous new weapon if they will follow our example; offering to have second thoughts on the rearming of Germany if they too will have second thoughts.

The Church and war

Canon Scrutton said that he was there as a representative of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, which numbered over 400 priests and over 2,400 lay folk. All were pledged to renounce modern warfare and work for a constructive Christian peace in the world.

"I do not think we are eccentric" he said, "I believe that within measurable distance the Church of England will go that extra foot forward which will bring it to the full pacifist position."

For the Lambeth Conference, attended by 300 or more bishops from all over the world, had solemnly affirmed in 1930 that "War, for the settlement of international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Jesus Christ." It further stated that "the existence of armaments at the present scale endangers the peace of the world." The 1930 scale was roughly £129 million for all armaments; we had just been told that today £513 million were to be spent on the air force alone.

At the 1948 meeting of the Lambeth Conference this resolution was reaffirmed, while a committee of the conference declared that "global war" was "a blasphemy and an anachronism."

MPs and the people

"I do not believe in deterrence" said Victor Yates, MP, explaining that he had made a study of the prison system of this country. "I do not believe that any threat, or torture, will stop a man from doing wrong if he believes he is doing right. No weapon will deter. Hanging will not deter. Nor will the H-bomb deter international aggression."

He believed that we had reached the turning of the tide. In the rooms, lobbies and passages of the House of Commons the atmosphere was electric. There was a deep feeling that something was wrong.

But action must not be confined to the House of Commons. The British people had a great responsibility to guide their Parliament along the right road.

"Take up the challenge now, come out with us in faith and a belief in human brotherhood, and I believe the House of Commons will submit to your will" he concluded.

Call for new Socialist policy

MANY more than 3,022,000 would have voted against German rearmament at the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough had Britain's pledge to maintain troops in Europe for the rest of the century been known.

This view is expressed by Victor Yates, MP, in the current "Labour Peace Leader."

The readmittance of Germany to the military arena means the constant conscription of youths in Britain and the resurrection of an arsenal in Europe as a whole.

This situation is expected to bring about world peace, but, says Victor Yates, "What a delusion!"

"The urgent problem of the hour is how to reverse the engines of destruction to enable energy, wealth and scientific power to be used for lifting up the standard of life of the world."

"This is the constructive purpose to which the British Socialist Movement should set its hand, and the sooner there is a reappraisal of British Socialist foreign policy the sooner we shall be capable of giving a lead to the world. The old technique of war and the mailed fist is discredited."

Proclaim the way of non-violence

—MICHAEL SCOTT

THE Rev. Michael Scott, preaching in New York Cathedral in November last year, declared that "Deliver us from evil" was not a pious hope, but a magnificent challenge to mankind out of the darkness of despair in Gethsemane.

It was a challenge which led Christ to say, "Fear not; I have overcome the world," and which inspired the confidence of St. Paul, who wrote, "love will abound in knowledge and all judgment"

Mankind has been misled by false philosophies based upon despair or hatred, racial or national egotism, and doctrines of economic or political exclusion, and, "We of the Christian Church must accept a large part of the blame," said Michael Scott.

The Christian Church has a vocation which is both negative and positive.

"Negatively we have to show the world the ways and means of resisting evil by non-violent methods. That is to say, by methods which not only do not do physical violence, but do not do violence to the personality and intelligence and free-will of one's opponents."

★

The positive function of the Christian Church is to inspire people to visualise a situation in which old passions and prejudices have been overcome, "a new heaven and a new earth," where "all are children of His Heavenly Father," not Greek nor Jew, not male nor female, not bond nor free.

"The Church must not be dragged along," said Michael Scott. "The world desperately needs the new life and genius of Christianity in its first pristine beauty, giving new hope to a world at the end of an epoch."

Michael Scott said that many young people in an effort to bring justice and freedom to the world had turned Communist. Others, underprivileged and dispossessed looked to Communism for relief. "Such people need your friendship," he urged. "They need to be taken by the hand with understanding and shown another way to live and love life, and build a new world."

His sermon ended with a prayer composed by an aged African Chief, Hosea Kutako of the Hereros, who "knows nothing of these ideological controversies of our time." Based upon the words of forgiveness from the Cross, the prayer says, "... I for those men You prayed because they did not understand what they were doing, and that You came only for what is right. Help us to struggle in that way for what is right. O Lord help us to roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no dwelling place of our own ..."

The sermon has now been printed in pamphlet form under the title "Experiment in Time." Published by the African Bureau, copies are obtainable from Housemans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, House 6d.

"It never pays the man who speaks the truth, but it pays
Humanity that it should be spoken" —Olive Schreiner

"IT PAYS HUMANITY"

IT is sometimes said of unusual persons that they lived in advance of their time, meaning that their thoughts and actions, believed in their own day to be absurd, or futile, or wrong-headed, were, decades later, accepted as natural and almost conventional.

Olive Schreiner was certainly one of these, and indeed a hundred years after her birth it may be that in some ways, certainly in the ways of peace and war she is still in advance of the ideas of to-day.

She was a revolutionary and a pioneer of remarkable and striking personality with an extraordinary gift for understanding and assessing what she knew. And this in spite of the fact that she was born among primitive people and was almost entirely self-educated.

Her German father and English mother, when newly married, went as missionaries to Africa a century ago at a time when in that country Kafir wars and complete isolation from civilization were part of the normal pattern of life.

The house in which Olive Schreiner was born was absolutely primitive; a thatched roof, ceilings of calico and walls of clay with the scantiest furniture made up the first home of this gifted and indomitable woman.

That she developed mentally at a very young age is perhaps one of the reasons why in later years, long before others much older than herself had even given consideration to equality for women or the abolition of war, she was denouncing force and tyranny and war and wielding her eloquent pen in the cause of women's emancipation.

When she was only eight years old it is recorded that she discovered the Sermon on the Mount, and thrilled at this picture of an ideal world she rushed to her mother to tell her the good news. Her disillusionment when she realised that grown-ups knew all about this but were not prepared to base their way of life upon it led eventually to a declared agnosticism.

Yet her whole conception of humanity, and freedom, and equality was essentially a Christian conception. In all her writings and her actions there is the underlying belief in a perfectible world.

There are still many who, if the name of Olive Schreiner is mentioned will say vaguely: "Oh, yes, *STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM*." It is true that this book, her first novel, caused a sensation, not only because of its literary qualities, but because of its completely revolutionary theme, yet some of her other writings are equally forthright and strikingly original in thought and conception.

In *TROOPER PETER HALKET* written in the form of an allegory she made the same passion-

ate appeal for the rights of the coloured people as she made for the rights of women in *THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM*, *UNDINE* and *FROM MAN TO MAN*.

Through the medium of Lyndall, the youthful heroine of *THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM*, Olive Schreiner undoubtedly expressed her own views on matrimony, her vision of a new relationship between men and women, her passionate belief in the right of women to equality of opportunity, and her deep concern that the standard of morality for men and women should be the same.

The novel appeared at the same time as the first production of Ibsen's *A DOLL'S HOUSE* and caused a stir and excitement among men and women alike, for the idea that women should be allowed to make a contribution beyond the narrow confines of the kitchen, the nursery and the marriage bed was so new and shocking that the book was banned from many homes.

It has been said of her that she was a suffragette long before the word was ever heard, but she was never a militant, for she abhorred the use of force, and even then was preaching the Gandhian policy of "passive resistance."

Her courage in putting forward unflinchingly her unpopular ideas was equalled by her indomitable struggle with chronic asthma, the illness which dogged her all her life.

By upholding the rights of the Boers, condemning that popular and formidable fighter, Rhodes, challenging the justice of the mighty British Empire, and denouncing the 1914-18 war she lost many friends and found herself bitterly isolated.

Yet Vera Buchanan-Gould in her book *NOT WITHOUT HONOUR* writes: "Had Olive Schreiner had her way, instead of Cecil Rhodes having his, a great deal of bloodshed

and bitterness might have been prevented."

In 1915 she was one of the band of women who were refused permission by the British Government to go to the Hague where a great concourse of women were gathering from neutral and belligerent countries to discuss evil of war.

The authorities knowing something by now of the undaunted determination of women to take their part in world affairs, and fearing suffragette tactics, cancelled all Channel sailings. This did not, of course, prevent the conference taking place, and Olive Schreiner's message to the Hague on that occasion still rings with the inspiration it must have carried that day.

The time has come for a great step which humanity must take if it is to continue in its upward path—the step across the narrow bounds of nation and race in a larger, wider, human fellowship.

Her attitude to the war, her support of the rights of conscientious objectors, which she did not hesitate to state made her many enemies, and brought her also many humiliations and trials.

Now a quarter of a century after her death we celebrate, with awe and gratitude, the centenary of her birth. As one writer has said: "It is natural that the world which poisoned Socrates and crucified Christ, should, in her own day, deride Olive Schreiner."

But all along she has been proved to be right, and men and women the world over know now that it pays for the truth to be spoken. This is her finest memorial.

SYBIL MORRISON.



OLIVE SCHREINER

A photograph taken at the age of 29

Conscientious Objection to War

THERE are many ways in which a man at the present day may conscientiously object to war.

His forbears may have been objectors and have handed down to him a tradition which, from his earliest years, has impressed on

him the view that war is an evil, not to be trafficked with. His ancestors may have been imprisoned and punished by the men of their own day, for holding what were then entirely new and objectionable views; but, where once a man can prove that he holds any opinions as a matter of inheritance and that they are shared by a certain number of his fellows under a recognised collective name the bulk of human beings in his society may not agree with him and desire to punish him; but since the majority of human creatures accept their politics, their religion, their manners and their ideals purely as a matter of inheritance, the mass of men who differ from him are at least able to understand how he came by his views. They do not regard him as a monstrosity and an impossibility, and are able to extend to him in some cases a certain limited tolerance: he comes by his views exactly as they come by theirs; and in so far they are able to understand him.

But a man may conscientiously object to war in quite another fashion. He may object to a definite and given war, for some definite limited reason. He may believe that war to have been led up to by a false and mad diplomacy, to be based on a mistaken judgment of the national interests; to be even suicidal; and therefore he may feel compelled to oppose that particular war while the bulk of men and women in his society desire and approve of it. The unthinking herd, unable to understand or tolerate any opposition to the herd-will of the moment, may regard him as incomprehensibly wicked; but at least an appreciable number of intelligent persons, not sharing his view, will understand that a man may be sincerely compelled to oppose certain lines of public action which the majority of his fellows approve. They may hate him for opposing their will, they may attempt to ostracise and crush him; but, in their calmest and most reasonable moments, they do understand that they might themselves under certain circumstances be compelled to act in the same manner, and are willing, therefore, to allow him the virtue of possible sincerity, if nothing else.

But a man may object to war in another and far wider way. His objection to it may not be based on any hereditary tradition, or on the teaching of any organised society, or of any of the great historic figures of the past; and while he may indeed object to any definite war for certain limited and material reasons, these are subordinate to the real ground on which his objection rests. He may fully recognise the difference in type between one war and another, between a war for dominance, trade expansion, glory, or the maintenance of Empire, and a war in which a class or race struggles against a power seeking permanently to crush and subject it, or in which a man fights in the land of his birth for the soil on which he first saw light, against the strangers seeking to dispossess him; but while recognising the immeasurable difference between these types (exactly as the man who objects to private murder must recognise the wide difference between the man who stabs one who has a knife at his throat and the man who slow-poisons another to obtain a great inheritance), he is yet an objector to all war. And he is bound to object, not only to the final expression of war in the slaying of men's bodies; he is bound to object, if possible more strongly, to those ideals and aims

and those institutions and methods of action which make the existence of war possible and inevitable among men.

Also, while he may most fully allow that certain immediate and definite ends may be gained by the slaughter of man by man—not merely where Jezebel gained possession of Naboth's vineyard, for a time, by destroying him, or David acquired Uriah's wife by putting him in the forefront of the battle, but aims even otherwise excusable or even laudable—he is yet compelled to hold that no immediate gain conferred by war, however great, can compensate for the evils it ultimately entails on the human race. He is therefore unable to assist not merely in the actual carnage of war, but, as far as possible, in all that leads to its success.

This is the man, often not belonging to any organised religion, not basing his conviction on the teachings of authority external to

By OLIVE SCHREINER

The following extracts are from some "Stray Thoughts," written under the title "*The Dawn of Civilisation*," and previously published in *The Athenaeum* in 1921.

himself, whom it appears so difficult if not impossible for many persons, sometimes even of keen and critical intellectual gifts, to understand. We have, in South Africa, a version of a certain well-known story. According to this, an old Boer from the backveld goes for the first time to the Zoological Gardens at Pretoria and sees there some of the, to him, new and quite unknown beasts. He stands long and solemnly before one, and looks at it intently; and then slowly shaking his head, he turns away. "Daar is nie zoo'n dier nie!" ("There is not such a beast!") he remarks calmly, as he walks away.

The story returns often to the mind at the present day, when watching the actions of certain bodies of men, called upon to pass judgment on the psychic conditions of their fellows, on the matter of slaughter and war. The good shopkeeper, the worthy farmer, the town councillor, and country gentleman, and dashing young military man may understand perfectly their own business of weighing and measuring goods, rearing cattle, levying rates, or polo playing, or the best way to cut and thrust in the slaughter of war; but when suddenly called upon to adjudge on psychological phenomena of which they have no personal experience, they are almost compelled to come to the conclusion of the good old backveld Boer: "Daar is nie zoo'n dier nie!" "There is no such thing as a conscientious objector!" He may stand before us; he may tell us what he feels; but we have no experience of such feelings. We know, therefore, that such a thing cannot exist—and therefore it does not.

WE are a reality. We do exist. We are as real as a bayonet with human blood and brains along its edge; we are as much a part of the universe as coal or lead or iron; you

ARTIST AND CRUSADER

Olive Schreiner: Her Friends and Times, by D. L. Hobman, Watts & Co. 15s.

IN this centenary year of Olive Schreiner, who was born on March 24, 1855, it is appropriate that the best study of her should be published which has appeared up to date.

The first biography, by her husband, Samuel Cronwright—an intelligent, unambiguous, and often comprehensibly bewildered journalist-farmer—appeared in 1924. It gave nearly all the facts, but little of the truth. The second, *NOT WITHOUT HONOUR*, by the late Vera Buchanan-Gould, uncovered

By VERA BRITAIN

some new material—it began, I believe, as an academic thesis—but relied on the sympathetic external observations of a conventional approach. It has been left for Mrs. Hobman to tell Olive Schreiner's story from within, and to provide a balanced assessment of her complicated character.

Her book is attractively produced, but it is a pity that the publishers do not give any information about the author (formerly Daisy L. Adler, the second wife of the late J. B. Hobman, Editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, 1921-1928).

It is still necessary for a determined student of Olive Schreiner to read all three biographies. Mrs. Hobman, for instance, refers in Chapter 3 to an early "passionate love affair with a tragic and humiliating end, of which all details have been suppressed." But five years ago Mrs. Buchanan-Gould—of whose book Mrs. Hobman strangely appears unaware—identified the perfidious lover as Julius Zaar of Dordrecht, a small South African village where Olive taught as a young girl, and quoted letters from both Olive and her mother about this abortive engagement.

The identification of a lover, however, is less important than the understanding which Mrs. Hobman has brought to her presentation of Olive Schreiner's vehement personality, and to the needs and problems of any woman who is also a dedicated artist.

One of the most erratic and temperamental of writers, Olive was yet capable of enormous powers of concentration. Her art, says her biographer, expresses "the passion of abstract ideas," but these ideas were so closely associated with causes which are still vital issues—sex equality, race equality, pacifism, and a new morality—that the artist and the crusader were inextricably combined. From this angle she was the antithesis of Milton, whose literary life almost mathematically divided itself between the creation of poetry and the service of the Parliamentary Party in the Civil War.

Mrs. Hobman shows that throughout her life Olive Schreiner was a victim of conflict, which was undoubtedly linked with her

crippling attacks of chronic asthma—a disease of which the half physical, half psychological origins are still imperfectly understood. This conflict not only embodied the typical struggle between the artist's need for solitude, and current conventions which insisted that for a woman persons must come before art; it also arose from the perpetual contest—an extreme version of the philosophic conflict of her time—between a between a rationalist and a mystical temperament.

"Always tormented by nostalgia for the undefined," she sought restlessly for the health which eluded her, but also, as Mrs. Hobman intuitively perceives, for an equally fugitive happiness.

Mrs. Hobman's excellent book should be read not only by admirers of Olive Schreiner, but by everyone interested in the revolutionary changes which have made the nineteenth and twentieth centuries one of history's most challenging periods. Her title suggests a preoccupation with the age itself, and with Olive's family and friends. These are indeed effectively described; anyone long associated with Fabian Socialism will read the chapter recording the solemn activities of "Edward Carpenter and His Circle" with peculiar glee. But I personally found most rewarding the light shed by Mrs. Hobman on Olive Schreiner as a writer, and especially the illuminating comparison with another intense and narcissistic author, Emily Brontë.

"The book," Mrs. Hobman writes truly of Olive's best-known work, *THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN FARM*, radiates some mysterious quality, not unlike that of *WUTHERING HEIGHTS*, although less powerful, which made itself felt immediately and has not wholly faded from the pages more than half a century after its first appearance."

Olive Schreiner's astonishing influence on her contemporaries was a fact, but Mrs. Hobman is the first biographer satisfactorily to explain it. "She helped to break the fetters of dogma impeding spiritual growth, and she gave expression to aspirations which many people felt but few knew how to define."

Today, thanks partly to Olive Schreiner, most thoughtful persons can recognise and define these aspirations. Even the pacifist transformation of current history, an idea which brought her so much suffering and loneliness in England during the First World War, is at last coming to be widely regarded as the only alternative to the hydrogen bomb and man's annihilation.

Although, as Mrs. Hobman tells us, Olive's prophetic vision showed her a great future harnessing of basic power for human good or evil, she still believed at the end of her life in 1920 that there was hope for mankind—"somewhere, some time, some place—even on earth."

Olive Schreiner

● From page six

have to count us in. You may think us fools, you may hate us, you may wish we were all dead; but it is at least something if you recognise that we are. "To understand all is to forgive all," it has been said; and it is sometimes even something more; it is to sympathise, and even to love, where we cannot yet fully agree. And therefore, perhaps, even the feeblest little attempt to make human beings understand how and why their fellows feel as they feel and are as they are, is not quite nothing...

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I HAD grown up in a land where wars were common. From my earliest years I had heard of bloodshed and battles and hairbreadth escapes; I had heard them told of by those who had seen and taken part in them.

In my native country dark men were killed and their lands taken from them by white men armed with superior weapons; even near to me such things had happened. I knew also how white men fought white men; the stronger even hanging the weaker on gallows when they did not submit; and I had seen how white men used the dark as beasts of labour, often without any thought for their good or happiness. Three times I had seen an ox striving to pull a heavily loaded wagon up a hill, the blood and foam streaming from its mouth and nostrils as it struggled, and I have seen it fall dead under the lash.

And sometimes I had seen bands of convicts going past to work on the roads, and had heard the chains clanking which went round their waists and passed between their legs to irons on their feet; I had seen the terrible look in their eyes of a wild creature, when every man's hand is against it, and no one loves it, and it only hates and fears. I had got up early in the morning to drop small bits of tobacco at the roadside, hoping they would find them and pick them up. I had wanted to say to them, "Someone loves you," but the man with the gun was always there. Once I had seen a pack of dogs set on by men to attack a strange dog, which had come among them and had done no harm to anyone. I had watched it torn to pieces, though I had done all I could to save it. Why did everyone press on everyone and try to make them do what they wanted? Why did the strong always crush the weak? Why did we hate and kill and torture? Why was it all as it was? Why had the world ever been made? Why, oh why, had I ever been born?

And then as I sat on there, another thing came to me; and in some form or other it has remained with me ever since, all my life. It was like this: You cannot by willing it alter the vast world outside of you; you cannot, perhaps, cut the lash from one whip; you cannot stop the march of even one armed man going out to kill; you cannot perhaps strike the handcuff from one chained hand; you cannot even remake your own soul so that there shall be no tendency to evil in it; the great world rolls on, and you can not reshape it; but this one thing only you can do—in that one, small minute, almost infinitesimal spot in the Universe, where your will rules, there, where alone you are as God, strive to make that you hunger for real! No man can prevent you there. In your own heart strive to kill out all hate, all desire to see evil come even to those who have injured you or another; what is weaker than yourself to try to help; whatever is in pain or unjustly treated and cries out, say "I am here! I, little, weak, feeble, but I will do what I can for you." This is all you can do; but do it; it is not nothing! And then this feeling came to me,

Letters to the Editor

There's money in arms again

DURING the years immediately preceding 1939 the writer made a collection of armament manufacturers' advertisements: after Munich how rich became the arms merchants! The British taxpayer began his nightmare taxation increases in order to pour money into the pockets of the London Stock exchange arms shares market.

The game has started again: for a few years the merchants-of-death have kept decently "underground." But now, with conflicting strategic demands, each vested interest is spending huge sums on publicity and pressure propaganda in favour of their particular weapon. So the business and technical newspapers are full of persuasive advertisements on aeroplanes, submarines "antis," flying missiles and whatnot.

The University scholarship students from British universities are pouring into overpaid jobs provided by the sheep-faced taxpayer as in 1914-18, 1939-45, and...

Attractive terms too, are being offered to the student merchants of death: if they are prepared to sell their souls in the manufacture of mass-destruction they will be given "Five-day week; Group Insurance; Opportunities for advancement, and (sic) a Pension scheme..."

Perhaps the last item is our real hope: the manufacturers assume they will go on making guided missiles, rocket weapons, and hydrogen bombs until the new lads are 65 years of age. But if a fellow is now 21 it will be 1984 that he gets his Pension. And "1984" is Orwell's prophetic date.

A. W. HOPKINS.

44 Dalkeith Rd., Harpenden.

Nationalism and democracy

IN reply to the points raised by Reginald Reynolds (February 25):

1. Existing conditions in Nigeria (e.g.) I submit represent an improvement on the one-time practice of witch-doctors offering human sacrifices, and this is independent of the feelings or wishes of inhabitants of that territory. Doubtless in Nigeria, as elsewhere, opinions differ on "improvements." This gives Reginald Reynolds the opportunity to clarify some of the open questions that have arisen in what he calls this "half-baked poppycock" correspondence and to give us his interpretations of "national unity," "national genius," "the soul of a nation"; and I should like to know whether he approves of "collective punishment," which is certainly consistent with the theory of nationalism.

2. While conscious that "anti-Western feeling in China today" is thoroughly intelligible in the light of 19th century history, I must point out that the armies he refers to were not "impeccably international"; they were national armies acting in temporary alliance and in the alleged interests of the nations they were supposed to represent. The internationalism I uphold is non-nationalism.

3. I dispute the assumption that there is any "moral right" in nationalism, and the recognition of it "in principle" by European governments is itself challengeable. The 1870 democrats in France were not concerned with "denying democratic right of Germans"; they were, as ever, out to defend the "national interests" of "France" as involved in German influence in Spain.

4. "Breaking heads or counting them" does not represent the only two forms of control. Although democracy is in theory the rule of

a feeling it is not easy to put into words, but it was like this: You also are a part of the great Universe; what you strive for something strives for; and nothing in the Universe is quite alone; you are moving on towards something.

majorities, quite commonly government is in the hands of minorities. Personism considers the basic rights of individuals as contrasted with the asserted rights of nations.

5. Who are "the indigenous inhabitants" of any territory? Britishers may oust Matabeles, but Matabeles oust Mashonas; Angles, Saxons, Danes, Normans may all dominate in turn, and recorded history does not go back to Adam. I therefore suggested that a couple of generations is a reasonable period for determining "claims".

6. "Colonialism breeds nationalism"; yes, because it is nationalist colonialism. There should be partnership in government as in all else. The "freedom" for which so many pacifists seem agitating on behalf of Africans is in reality discrimination against aliens; black versus white is no improvement on white versus black.

7. Gandhi's nationalism, learned from Europe, was concerned with building up in India "national unity"—itself a fiction; but in any case pacifists are only portions of nations; and even pacifists are only human and can be provoked to "defence" in certain circumstances. I agree that civil war might result under a pacifist dictatorship, but civil war though deplorable can be reasonable, international war cannot. Incidentally a government that might abandon armaments would not necessarily be pacifist.

Finally, I dealt with the notion that democracy has some special fondness for peace in my reply to a letter from Mrs. Tyson in your issue of January 7. Presumably my letter has so far been withheld through lack of space.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

[This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.]

The plight of young COs

THERE recently appeared in the Baptist Times a notice under the heading "Forces Commendations" to say the notifications from Baptist churches of "boys" entering the forces showed a considerable decline upon the previous year.

I wrote expressing the hope that one reason might be that more "boys" were registering as conscientious objectors. The letter was not treated as one for publication, but as being in the nature of a private inquiry, and a reply received from the deputy secretary of the Baptist Union said that they had no means of knowing how many so registered!

Your reporters' accounts of recent tribunal proceedings at Fulham give added emphasis to the plight of these applicants and of the current "couldn't care less" attitude on the part of the populace to the witnessing of eternal values and truths.

It was once recorded that Christ wept over Jerusalem. Is He not, now, weeping over His Church?

JOHN BULLOUGH.

The Orchard,

Risedale, Grange over Sands.

The mess of the militarists

I AGREE with Tom Sullivan (February 18) that pacifist speakers ought to make more of the mess of the militarists, but I would go further. Having made the audience laugh and be more sympathetic to the more serious appeal of the speaker—what is that serious appeal?

I suggest it ought to be the way—the better way—that pacifists would run the world and that means a Peace Pledge Union policy. It is always easier to criticise than to do and the only way the pacifist speaker can appeal is by having a number of alternative methods. We say pacifism is a way of life and that means all the basic things of life.

A. LEAPER.

22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

A substitute for Ike and Winston

WHEN "Saint—with Red Hands" (Light) was introduced, it was announced that the programme "was not for young people or old people living alone." If the BBC were happy to avoid responsibility with such reservation we are sorry for them. Details of a murdered child were most objectionable. Are we so bankrupt for decent material?

We are fond of the Pantomime, but regret that the wonderful old-fashioned transformation scenes are nothing compared with the metamorphosis of governments by the waving of Uncle Sam's magic dollar wand. Tyrants become lovers of freedom, enemies allies and autocrats democrats.

RADIO by Joseph Fleming

Palm oil? Graft? Not a bit of it! Just honest-to-goodness political "Pieces of Eight." Thus, in "Home and Abroad" (Home), we heard how Turkey "had been receiving American aid since 1947... then joined NATO and formed a bastion against a common enemy." She also "offers" "her geographical position and bases for the West." More important (this will please cynics), "her alliance with Iraq has made the first breach in the neutralist bloc." It requires the synthesis of diplomatic Christian and Islamic ideals to determine abstention from war a moral crime.

We heard in "Captain Warner's Inventions" (Home), that a hundred years ago "powerful explosives were known which could destroy harbours, ports, the largest fleets and strongest fortifications." The country possessing the secret "could hold the rest of the world at its mercy."

As Officialdom was too miserly to pay the inventor £200,000 for this blessing, we English must tolerate other peoples in the world today. How perfect it could have been! No foreign languages to learn, no colour problem, no American Big Brother to use us as a battering-ram, no Old-iron Curtain. Perfect bliss; taking in each others washing and listening to "The Archers" (Light).

Following up our Moscow vigil on the 49 metre band, anxiously awaiting details of how COs are treated in the USSR, we inadvertently tuned slap into a heavy-weight boxing contest during which the "Trade School" entrant knocked-out his opponent from "Dynamo."

From the whistling and cheering of the thousands present at this Western cultural display, we are inspired to suggest, that should Ike again refuse to accompany Winston on a visit of reconciliation, a popular substitute would be Jack Solomons. "The subtlety of this manoeuvre is obvious," we pointed out to Aunt, "for in the event of negotiations being fruitless, we need not 'Yalta' our ally."

"Yes, perhaps," she replied, "and if the gentleman you mean is the same Mr. Solomon I read about in Sunday School, he would be just the one to hold the baby!"

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for its current List of Member Establishments. Most of these are under the personal supervision of the owners, many of whom use compost produce and make or provide wholemeal bread. Non-vegetarians are welcome. Apply V.C.A., 43 Lancaster Grove, London, N.W.3.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address) preferably in that order and style.

Friday, March 25

SWANSEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 200 High St.; John Bradley International (Help for Children) "Europe's Children." Swansea Peace Council.

Saturday, March 26

LONDON, W.1: 6.30 p.m.; Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Sq.; Marius Boelsma, R. Stensens, M.P., speaking at an Indian Evening, reporting work of Le Service International in India. Indian Music and dancing, exhibition of photos. Admission free. Indian Buffet. IVSP.

NOTTINGHAM: 3.30 p.m.; Adult School Rooms, Friar Lane, N. & E. Midlands Area AGM. Refreshments available. PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 6.45 p.m.; Open-Air Mtg., Old Market Sq. Frederick Forster and others. PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 6.45 p.m.; Temperance Institute, Carlton Cres. CO Reunion. Guest Speaker, Frank Hancock. Tickets from 50 Osborne Rd. PPU.

Monday, March 28

LEEDS: 3.15 p.m.; 31 Kelso Rd. Arthur Leeds, "A Visit to Greece" (with pictures). PPU.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Pilgrim St. Bill Skinner on "International Work Camps in India and Pakistan." IVSP.

LEEDS: 7.15 p.m.; Morley Co-operative Hall. Endsleigh Players, "Happy Journey." Last play. Details: Mary Boning, 39 Escourt Terrace, Leeds, 6.

Tuesday, March 29

HORNSBY, N.8: 8 p.m.; Hornsey Town Hall. Crouch End Ddy. Wm. Warbey, MP. Morris. "German Rearmament—Peace or War?" Questions. Adm. 6d. Hornsey Cttee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly hour-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

WESTMINSTER, S.W.1: 7.45 p.m.; Caxton Hall. Lord Patrick-Lawrence, PC, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, L.L.D. Vera Britain, MA, E. Solly Sachs, Florence Earengy, JP. Public Mtg. Olive Schreiner centenary. Status of Women Committee.

Wednesday, March 30

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Frank Dawtry, "The Penal and Prison System." Non-Violence Commission of the PPU.

Friday, April 1

BRISTOL: 2: 7.30 p.m.; Co-operative Social Club, Terrell St. Film show, "World without End." UNESCO Teams in Mexico and Thailand. Tickets from Warril Park, 15 Kenmore Cres., Bristol, 7, or at door. Bristol Peace Council.

HULL: 7 p.m.; 6 Bond St. AGM Agenda. 8.15 p.m.; T. Kemp, "The Economic Consequences of Disarmament." Adm. free. Questions. Open to all. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1. A musical evening given by Eric Rees (baritone) acc. Margaret Thistlethwaite, and Robin Harrison (pianoforte). Refreshments 7 p.m. Commence 7.30 p.m. First performance of song cycle by Frank Merrick. Arranged by Peace News.

Saturday, April 2

LONDON, N.W.1: 3-5.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd., Alan Robertson, "Conciliatory Methods in Bristol" Education Commission PPU. (Tea 9d. 4 p.m.) Notify, if possible, June Burgess, 9 West St., Herford, Here.

Sunday, April 3

BIRMINGHAM: 5.30 p.m.; Starting from Friends Mtg. Ho., Bull St. Christian Peace Poster Walk.

LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh Ho. Church, Binney St. Rev. W. J. Pigott, MA. "From Babel to Bethlehem." PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, W.C.1: 11-7 p.m.; Friends Int. Centre, Tavistock Sq., Labour Peace Fellowship AGM.

MANCHESTER: 1 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. Mary Phillips, "The Christian Conscientious Objection to Military Service." 2.15 p.m.; Fred J. Adams, "Registering as a Conscientious Objector." Part of one day conference beginning at noon, ending 4 p.m. SoF.

Monday, April 4

BRADFORD: 1: 7.30 p.m.; Eastbrook Hall, Bishop of Johannesburg, "Justice in South Africa." West Riding Council for African Affairs.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen Sq. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube, Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

WOMEN, CHILDREN AND THE ATOM, Thursday, March 31 at 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Euston Rd., N.W.1. In the chair: Dr. David Stark Murray, (Pres. SMA). Speakers: Drs. Hugh Price and Horace Joulas, and Members of the Japanese Women's Delegation. Under auspices of Socialist Medical Association, and Peace Committee, SoF.

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PERSONAL

"ELIJAH COMING Before Christ," wonderful book free. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 13, Rochester 19, N.Y.

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NATURE CURE Health Centre. Blunham House, Bedfordshire. Apply to the Secretary for particulars.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

LITERATURE

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Tory and Labour support for Acland "God and Billy Graham"

generals, scientists and statesmen, "Turn back from this evil."

His wife, Lady Anne, told the audience: "Richard and I are in this together."

Support for Sir Richard's stand continues to come from a broad cross-section of the British people.

The correspondence columns of The Times have shown a steady flow of supporting letters:

Tory's "great admiration"

Charles Grey of Malton, Yorks, who described himself as "a very old and extremely unimportant Conservative," wrote of his "great admiration of Sir Richard's decision . . . to fight . . . as an opponent of the manufacture of hydrogen, and, I hope, of all other atomic bombs in this country, as well as of the employment of a strategic bomber force."

He continued:

"The question of the manufacture of atomic bombs appears to me to transcend all party politics. It endorses the decision of the United States to lay waste, without warning, two defenceless and crowded cities in Japan; and seems to contemplate, almost without regret—the Prime Minister is an exception—the inevitable destruction of all life and all beauty in a very beautiful world; it assumes, when, to an impartial mind, all the evidence is contrary to that assumption, that the United States is all out for peace and that Russia is determined to wage an aggressive war."

Another correspondent, W. G. Preston of Wanganui, New Zealand, after referring to Sir Richard's brave action, wrote:

"Armed strength has never guaranteed peace, nor will it ever do so. The only result will be that war, whenever it comes, will be so much more devastating and ruinous than it would otherwise be."

"The electorate must decide between war and peace. They should remember that even though it seems likely that we would win any war the resulting chaos would preclude the survival of civilization as we know it today."

"I believe that the present policy of armed strength will result in our eventual destruction. Accordingly I hope the people of Gravesend will show that peace and not destruction is uppermost in their minds by re-electing Sir Richard Acland to Parliament by a large majority."

"Significant gesture"

Anthony Howard, President of the Oxford Union, in The Times on Tuesday wrote that "to most of us Sir Richard Acland's gesture

is the most significant private political action since the war."

"It reveals to some of us what we had previously doubted—that both integrity and intelligence can exist in politics today."

The Conservative London newspaper, The Evening News, published two articles by John Connell on the moral challenge of the H-bomb: "The Ultimate Choice" and "Only Britain can give a lead."

"The Ultimate Choice" brought the writer and the Editor of The Evening News "more letters from readers than any single article we have published for many months."

John Connell (a non-de-plume for a Conservative Alderman of a London Borough) wrote in his second article:

"Our task, while there is still time, is to prevent this final calamity, and through difficulty, danger and doubt—to lead our fellow human beings out of the valley of this shadow. It demands from us the spirit of our earlier finest hour of 1940; and it demands, as 1940 did, every ounce of united effort. It demands, as did 1940, that we shed a good many preconceived notions; I, for example, though I have never doubted his courage or his sincerity, have always thought Sir Richard Acland a rather silly crank; but crank or not he has taken a major step towards confessing to the fullest of his capacity, his stand on this issue. If this is crankiness, I hope he infects some more of us—and more and more."

The following comments from members of the Labour Party were made at a Tribune Brains Trust at Uxbridge:

Mr. John Freeman, MP: I admire him for what he is doing, and I think it would be a very gracious action if the Labour Party did not put an official candidate against him.

Mr. Frank Beswick, MP: If he can get a straight fight with a Tory it would be a fine thing, or if it was a straight fight with a Labour candidate on the single issue of the H-bomb it would be a fine thing. But if the by-election becomes complicated by more candidates it may not be so.

Risk expulsion

Typical of those Labour Party members willing to risk expulsion by working with Sir Richard Acland in his campaign at Gravesend, is Fred Moorhouse, Student Secretary, International Union of Socialist Youth and Chairman of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations:

He told Peace News last week: "I hope all Labour Party members will put Socialism above party and work for humanity which in this case means against any official candidate the Labour Party may run at Gravesend."

The Independent Labour Party has given its support to Sir Richard Acland, and also the British Section of the Third Way Movement.

The Third Way Movement says that "it shares with Sir Richard the view that Britain destroys its chance of acting, with India, Indonesia, Sweden and other uncommitted nations, as mediator in the power struggle that is threatening to destroy the world."

London Conferences to discuss action against H-bomb

THE Standing Joint Pacifist Committee has called the following Regional Conferences around London for all those who are opposed to making the H-bomb and prepared to work for total disarmament.

Wandsworth Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., Wandsworth. March 29.

Ilford Friends Meeting House, corner of Cleveland Rd., Ilford. March 31.

St. Mark's Church Hall, Clarendon Rise, Lewisham, S.E.13. March 28.

Croydon Friends Meeting House, Park Lane, Croydon. April 15.

Wandsworth Friends Meeting House, 59 Wandsworth High St. S.W.18. March 30.

Kingston Friends Meeting House, Eden St., Kingston. March 25.

Harrow Friends Meeting House, 456 Rayners Lane, Pinner. March 30.

Hampstead Friends Meeting House, 120 Heath St., N.W.3. March 28.

All meetings begin at 7.45 p.m. and a member of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee will be present.

A religious revival would do more than any Big Three Conference that could possibly be held . . . The hydrogen bomb and Communism are not our problems . . . The answer is to be found in the transformation of human nature.

—Dr. William Graham, March 19, 1955.

I have been reading that Billy Graham expects to make 29,000 "converts" in the North. Why, oh why, if Billy Graham can do it, can't Donald Soper? Most of the people I meet around, and particularly the women, are in favour of disarmament . . . What about Donald Soper recruiting signed up "converts" for his God? What's God and Billy Graham got that God and Donald Soper can't have?

—Letter from a woman correspondent, March 16, 1955.

THE letter quoted above was not written to me, nor was it written for publication, but when I was shown it, it seemed to me that here was a shrewd and deeply pertinent question.

What is it, in fact, apart from the large sums of money spent on advertisement and publicity, that draws tens of thousands to hear Billy Graham, and causes them to flock to railway stations on his arrival as though he were Charlie Chaplin, or the Queen?

When Billy Graham was in London last year he replied to a questioner that he did not know what was meant by pacifism, and was obviously determined to remain outside of any political controversy.

However, like many others today, he is so far affected by the advent of the H-bomb that he cannot quite leave it out of his remarks, and has said therefore, that people should not concern themselves with it, since that is not their problem; their only concern being to "come to God" and so help to transform human nature.

This, of course, is what Billy Graham offers that Donald Soper does not; an easy palliative, a removal of personal responsibility, a gag against the "still small voice."

Donald Soper, in his call to Christian pacifism, does not relieve anyone of their individual responsibility for what goes on in their name. He does not say "worship God and all will be well." He says, instead "do what God told you to do through the teaching of Jesus Christ, and then all will be well."

If 29,000 "converts" in Glasgow were to refuse to make the weapons of war because God told them to "love your enemies"; if half that number were to refuse to join the Army, Navy or Air Force because God told them it was wrong to kill; if any single one of them were to declare that they cannot in their conscience sanction the use of the method of war because God told them to do to others "as ye would that men should do to you," then the transformation of the human race would have begun.

But that is the hard way, the difficult way, and not the way the Church, established or free, teaches in its official capacity. Yet, at the Billy Graham meetings those who indicate a desire to "sign on with God," are put in touch with whatever Church seems appropriate. Ministers of different denominations are there to interview, advise and help them.

THE ARCHBISHOP

★ From page one

It is as the Archbishop admits to defeat the purpose of God. But unless the Christian is to admit the ultimate victory of evil, good must prevail even under Communist domination and God's purpose can still be achieved.

Perhaps nothing is more startling than to hear the Archbishop say that what greatly influenced him was the recommendations of the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. It is deplorable that in what he describes as a great moral crisis the spokesman of the Church of England should have no words to speak but those of Caesar.

We would implore the Archbishop to search his conscience again, and challenge the conscience of the nation instead of lulling it to sleep.

Crossman, Wigg, and the H-bomb

□ FROM PAGE TWO

itself after having given the Kremlin the advantage of first extending its bases over all of Europe.

How can anyone imagine the Pentagon considering such a proposition for two seconds—unless it too were ready to pull out of the power struggle and make permanent peace? Do Crossman-Wigg truly believe that Britain's H-bomb will force the Pentagon or Eisenhower, for that matter, to accept such a policy? One final word. It seems to me that Crossman-Wigg all too lightly dismiss the idea of Britain joining the uncommitted nations. I honour them indeed, for dismissing the idea of embracing "neutrality" on grounds of sheer self-interest, while still "sheltered under the umbrella of the American strategic air force"—though I'm not clear just how much of a shelter this would be.

But a nation which chose to become a "Third Camp" or a "Third Way" nation—not a member of another military power bloc—and joined with like-minded others, would follow the one course which would stop the polarization of power in Russia and the US and this would truly reduce tension. The spectacle of nations daring to throw off their own militarism and demanding a free life would have a revolutionary effect on the peoples of the European satellite countries and within the Soviet Union and China. It is ridiculous to suppose that the existing dictatorships would go unaffected.

Similarly, such a Third Way development would undermine the US militarists. It would cause a revolutionary upsurge in Latin-American lands, no longer terrified of the "Yankee Colossus." It would make possible the revival of progressive forces within the US.

In case of need such peoples in Europe and elsewhere could develop Gandhian, essentially non-violent, methods of defence. This also is a course involving risks, but risks worth taking.

We jump 1,000!

Our British circulation has jumped 1,000 copies in a fortnight. Last week's figures: 12,400 (Home edition 11,000; US 1,400).

Harry Myster writes:

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FULL TEXT of Conway Memorial Lecture, 1955, published in April "Monthly Record" by South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Price 1s. post free.

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